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AUTHOR Ross, E. Wayne
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ABSTRACT

The factors that influence the formation and development of teacher perspectives among preservice social studies teachers were studied. Answers were sought to two questions: (1) what linkages exist between the development of teacher perspectives and the experiences provided by university teacher education?; and (2) what role does the individual play in the construction of a teacher perspective? Among the findings were support for the hypothesis that teacher socialization is a dialectical process involving three interacting sets of variables (personal, institutional, and the interaction between the two); that course work is less useful than field experience; that a high value is placed upon the apprenticeship of observation; and that teacher educators should provide opportunities for study and application of action research methods. Among the several recommendations arising from the study are that the active role of the individual in mediating the curriculum of teaching can no longer be ignored and that providing preservice teachers with the initial tools for professional growth and a support network for continued growth are important steps toward the goal of excellence in the schools. Thirty-three references are provided. (TRS)

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Becoming a Social Studies Teacher: Teacher Education and the Development of Preservice Teacher Perspectives

E. Wayne Ross

Teacher Education Department

The University at Albany, State University of New York

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Becoming a Social Studies Teacher: Teacher Education and the Development of Preservice Teacher Perspectives

As a student, schooling and classrooms situations are viewed with a particular perspective. In the process of becoming a teacher the individual must change his or her relationship to the classroom situation. Learning to teach requires the development of a teacher perspective, a perspective in which schooling and classroom situations are seen and interpreted in a new way.

A review of research on teacher education by Fuller and Bown (1975) concluded that there was a lack of theory building and conceptualization with regard to the processes of change experienced by individuals when learning how to teach. In the years since, this assessment of research on teacher education has been affirmed by others (e.g., Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). The most frequently stated reason for this inadequacy has been that little is known about what actually goes on in teacher education.

Recent research on teacher education has attempted to address these shortcomings by investigating the dynamics of the teacher education experience (e.g., Adler, 1984; Goodman, 1982: Tabachnick, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1979-1980). These studies focus on the preservice and induction phases of teaching, emphasizing concerns such as: (a) how do beginning teachers give meaning and purpose to the process of learning how to teach?, (b) how do they perceive the subjects they will be teaching?, (c) how do they interpret and respond to classroom behaviors?, and (d) how do these new meanings give direction to their classroom practice?

The purpose of this study was to investigate the factors that influence the formation and development of teacher perspectives among preservice social studies teachers. Answers were sought to the following questions: (a) What linkages exist between the development of teacher perspectives and the experiences provided by university teacher education? (b) What role does the individual play in the construction of a teacher perspective?

Conceptual Framework

The literature reveals four basic frameworks for the examination of the process of becoming a teacher. These frameworks may be labeled as follows: (a) perceived problems of beginning teachers (Cruickshank, Kennedy, & Myers, 1974), (b) developmental stage concerns (Fuller & Bown, 1975), (c) cognitive developmental (Sprinthall & Thies-Sprinthall, 1983), and (d) teacher socialization (Lacey, 1977).

Researchers using the perceived problems of beginning teachers framework have produced general agreement on the most often perceived problems of beginning teachers, but this approach has little to say about how context, teacher characteristics, and individual differences influence teachers' perceptions and performance. The developmental stage concerns and cognitive developmental frameworks try to explain changes in individuals from some end state (Veenman, 1984). These two frameworks are effective because they provide a way of categorizing teachers according to how they think and what capacities they do or do not have at various career stages. However, the developmental frameworks consider changes in the individual as self-directed and primarily use psychological concepts in the investigation of these changes.

Of these four approaches, the teacher socialization framework provides the most inclusive structure for the study of the process of change that occurs as an individual becomes a professional. The teacher socialization framework allows for the use of psychological concepts, but also gives attention to the changes within the context of institutional settings. As previously noted, past research has outlined the problems faced by beginning teachers, but has yielded little knowledge of the complex nature of the process of becoming a teacher. Research based upon an interactive paradigm, such as teacher socialization, provides information about the educational situations, the psychological dimensions of meanings underlying those situations, and the important personal characteristics of the individuals that interact in these situations.

Veenman (1984) proposes the Lewinian model, which views behavior as a function of the person and the environment, as the preferred model for research on the process of becoming a teacher.

> The B-P-E [behavior-person-environment] paradigm does not only propose to study the behavior as an interactive function of the person and the environment and to describe the coordination of a person's cognitive orientation with the degree of structure of the environment, it also tries to view the present need for structure of the person on a developmental continuum along which growth toward independence and less need for structure is the long-term objective. (Veenman, 1984, p. 168)

The teacher socialization framework, which operates within the "B-P-E" paradigm, incorporates features from the other research frameworks while at the same time moving beyond them.

Within the framework of teacher socialization, there are two major foci in the study of the relationship between the individual and social institutions. The first interest is in how society transforms the individual. This model of teacher socialization, called the functionlist

model (Lacey, 1977), stresses two basic points. First, socialization is described as the process whereby individuals are "fitted" to society. Second, individuals are viewed as passive vessels that give way to the forces of socialization, accepting without resistance the attitudes, values, and behaviors deemed appropriate by society.

The deterministic character of this model is the result of an "emphasis on structural form and the unchanging nature of social institutions" (Lacey, 1977, p. 19). The history of research on teacher education reflects the influence of this model on conceptions of how individuals acquire the beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and values that are representative of a "teaching culture" (Zeichner, 1980). While the functional perspective has contributed much to the understanding of the processes of teacher socialization, it has failed to account for the variations in the outcomes of teacher socialization, that is, the existence of different teacher perspectives.

Recent research has challenged the deterministic framework of the functionalist model of teacher socialization. Drawing upon research on professional socialization in other fields, particularly medicine (e.g., Becker, Geer, Hughes, 1961; Bucher & Stelling, 1977; Olesen & Whittaker, 1968), a model of teacher socialization that focuses on the constant interplay between individuals and institutions has begun to develop. According to this dialectical model of socialization, "while social structures are compelling in the construction of identity, the concept of socialization should define people as both recipients and creators of values" (Popkewitz, cited in Zeichner, 1980, p.4). The dialectical model provides a more comprehensive theory of socialization by acknowledging the constraints of social structures, while not overlooking the active role

individuals play in the construction of their own professional identities. Actions and beliefs of individuals that contradict the dominant norms and values that pervade a particular social setting serve as evidence that the individual is not a passive vessel. The dialectical model views the process of teacher socialization as one in which prospective teachers adjust their roles as teachers without deep internal changes in beliefs and attitudes.

One approach to the investigation of the dialectical processes of teacher socialization employs the concept of teacher perspective. In much of the functionalist literature, the exclusive focus has been on expressed attitudes and ideology. These studies generally employed inventory surveys and failed to produce an adequate description of the professional development process experienced by beginning teachers. These studies have been called into question by Zeichner and Grant (1985).

The construct of perspective has been a useful vehicle for overcoming the deterministic character of this portion of the literature. Becker et al. (1961) first developed this construct in a study of medical socialization. The term perspective refers to:

> a co-ordinated set of ideas and actions a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation, to refer to a person's ordinary way of thinking and feeling about and acting in such a situation. These thoughts and action are co-ordinated in the sense that they flow reasonably, from the actor's point of view, from the ideas contained in the perspective. (Becker et al., 1961, p. 34)

While several studies relying in whole or in part on the investigation of teacher perspectives have been conducted, the body of work is relatively small (Adler, 1884; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985; Tabachnick, Popkewitz, Zeichner, 1979-1980; Hammersly, 1977; Gibson, 1976).

Adler (1984) has describe the notion of teacher perspectives as a construct that captures the ideas, behaviors, and contexts of particular teaching acts. Teacher perspectives differ from self-reported statements of ideology or attitudes because they are anchored in the world of actual situations and have reference to particular behaviors. Therefore, a teacher perspective is a theory of action that has developed as a result of the individual's experiences and is applied in particular situations. Teacher perspectives take into account a broad range of factors, including the teacher's background, beliefs, and assumptions, the contexts of the classroom and the school, how these elements are interpreted, and the interpretation's influence on the teacher's actions.

Recent field-based studies have inquired into the nature of preservice teachers' perspectives toward teaching in general and the social studies curriculum in particular. This study was conducted to contribute to our knowledge of teacher perspectives by examining the processes through which teacher perspectives are created.

Methodology

Because this study explored individual teacher perspectives and the processes through which they developed, the researcher believed it was necessary to use a methodology that allowed for the incorporation of the ideas, actions, thoughts, and feelings of the participants themselves as the major focus of the inquiry. Considering the purpose of this study—the investigation of the processes of becoming a teacher—it seemed that the naturalistic research paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) provided the most appropriate framework for the design of the inquiry. Previous research regarding professional socialization and the development of perspectives has demonstrated that qualitative research methods and a naturalistic

theoretical perspective allow unanticipated phenomena to be investigated as they emerge (Friebus, 1977).

Students majoring in social studies education at a large midwestern public university during 1984-85 were the focus of the study. Twenty-five students representing each of the four major phases of the teacher education program at the university were selected to participate in the study. The sample included students from: (a) the freshman early field experience program, (b) the sophomore level general pedagogy and educational psychology course sequence, (c) the senior level secondary social studies methods courses, and (d) student teaching. Four students were selected to participant in a pilot study. These pilot interviews were open-ended, loosely structured, and focused on general schooling background, significant influences in the decision to teach, and general knowledge of teaching. Based upon the pilot interviews and previous ethnographic investigations of the professional socialization process (Becker et al., 1961; Lortie, 1975), an interview schedule was constructed.

Interview sessions that ranged from one to two hours in length were conducted with the remaining 21 participants. The interview attempted to construct a story of the development of each individual as a preservice teacher. The interviews were similar to what Levinson (1978) calls biographical interviews and generally followed the established interview schedule, but were sensitive to and probed individual respondents' replies. The interviews focused on the development of the individual's teaching perspective over time, particularly during the university teacher education program. All interviews were conducted and tape recorded by the researcher. The tapes were transcribed and then the data was analyzed using a modified version of the constant comparative method of data

analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman, 1984). Data categories and patterns were identified, defined, and then compared across individuals and groups. The patterns and categories of data were continuously refined or linked to other classes of phenomena. In order to add meaning to the coding process, marginal remarks and memos were used to point out important issues that codes might have been blurring and to suggest new interpretations, leads, and connections between and among particular categories.

Respondents participated in follow-up interviews, where the researcher shared specific patterns that emerged from the study as well as tentative conclusions. The respondents were given an opportunity to confirm, modify, or challenge the information in a summary of the study's preliminary findings. The major means through which the credibility of the findings was established included: (a) triangulation techniques, including a variety of data sources (audio tapes, transcriptions, follow-up interviews, brief written biographical survey), (b) field notes and research journal of the researcher, (c) member checks (i.e., the clarification of questions and responses during and after the interviews, and the sharing of interview transcripts, working hypotheses, and interpretations with respondents).[1]

Findings

The main objectives of the study were to construct a composite picture of the teacher perspectives of the preservice social studies teachers participating in the study and to examine the processes through which the perspectives were created. This paper focuses on the second of these two objectives.[2]

The findings of this study lend support to the hypothesis that teacher socialization is a dialectical process. It was found that the co-ordinated set of beliefs, ideas, and actions a person uses in teaching situations (i.e., teaching perspective) was the result of three separate but interactive sets of variables: (a) the social structural variables prospective teachers encounter in universities and schools, (b) the individual's personal biography, and (c) the individual's active mediation of the interaction between the first two variables.

The structural variables set the stage or provided the context within which teacher perspectives develop (Bucher & Stelling, 1977). These variables were labeled the "curriculum of teaching" and contained three elements: (a) teacher education course work, (b) curriculum of the field experience, and (c) the apprenticeship of observation.[3]

Each individual's personal background or biography--values, religion, life experiences, content specialization, etc.--was important in accounting for the differences in teacher perspectives between individuals. Finally, data analysis identified four interactional variables that illustrate how individuals expressed control over socialization forces present in the curriculum of teaching. These interactive variables included: (a) role-playing, (b) selective role-modeling, (c) impression management, and (d) self-legitimation. Figure 1 illustrates the relationships between the structural and interactive variables, with personal biography classified as a fifth interactional variable.

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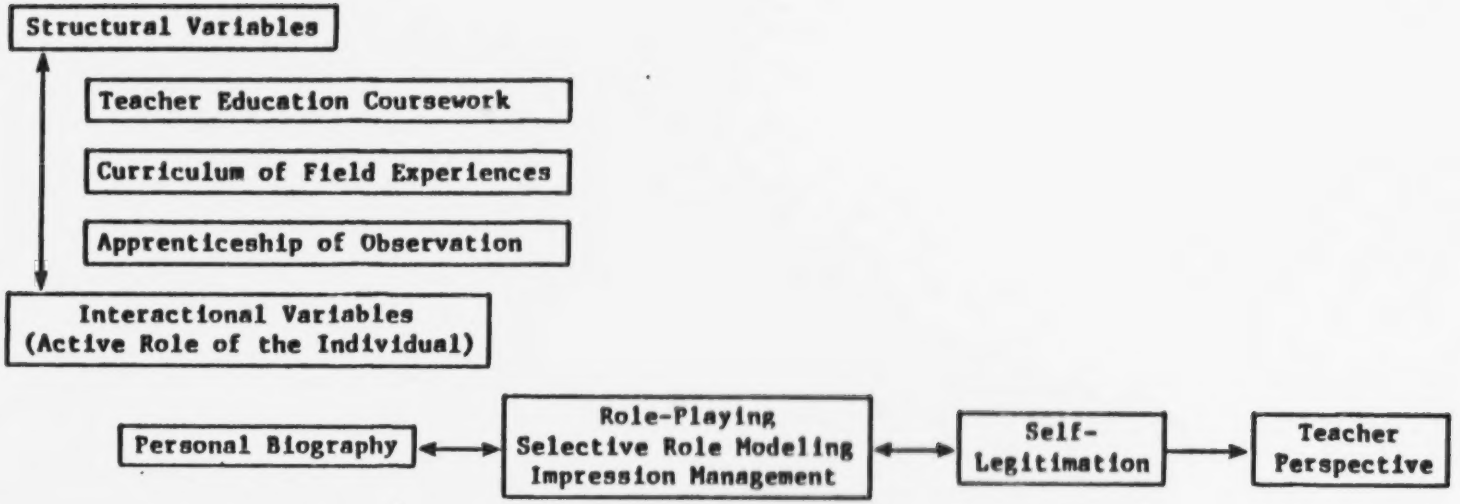

Figure 1: **A Model of the Development of Teacher Perspectives**

The Curriculum of Teaching

Teacher education course work. Preservice teachers in this study described the requisite knowledge and skills of teaching as being highly personal and individualistic. That is, they viewed the knowledge base of teaching as being relativistic. A utilitarian perspective dominated the respondents' approach to the study of teaching. Their pedagogical attitudes and actions were reflected in one respondent's remark, "what is right is what works for you and what you feel comfortable doing." The widespread belief among the respondents was that personality characteristics were more important to success in the classroom than any particular knowledge or skills that might be taught during teacher education. One student teacher put it this way:

> I think your personality is going to make you a better teacher than all the knowledge in the world...It's a talent. I think it's just as much of a talent as being a musician. You can learn all kinds of technical things, but if you don't have the talent, you can go ahead and play the notes, but you're not going to hear the same soul...I don't think you can totally learn to teach, I think that a lot of people just couldn't do it. So, if you don't have it, no matter what the university does, they're not going to make a teacher out of somebody who should be wearing a lab coat and locked in a room somewhere with test tubes. (Interview ST/6)

This perspective on learning how to teach was reflected in the respondents' generally low and/or negative expectations of teacher education upon entering the program. These initial low and/or negative expectations persisted throughout their programs and were reinforced by experiences respondents had in many of their teacher education courses. Respondents reported that instructors of education courses (particularly those in introductory foundations and educational psychology courses) allowed students to freely express beliefs and opinions about teaching and learning without any critical examination of what was said. The following

statements illustrate these points.

> I really wasn't sure what to expect [of teacher education courses]. Because the more I thought about it, the more I wondered what it could be all about. So I kind of went into it without expectations. (Interview SSM/4)

> They [instructors in education courses] would ask us what we thought a teacher should do in certain situations and everything anyone said was right. I agreed with everything they said too. No one is the same. No one is going to teach the same way. No matter how much I want to be like my cooperating teacher, I'm never going to be exactly like him. (Interview PI/4)

Course work in teacher education was generally perceived as less useful than the field experience components of the program. Preservice teachers placed a high value upon all activities perceived to be "practical." Introductory methods, educational psychology and foundations courses were perceived as only "minimally useful," while the social studies methods courses generally was described as the most practical course. Despite the positive acceptance of experiences in social studies methods courses, respondents still believed that these courses could have better prepared them for teaching by "being more specific." When probed for ideas on how course work might be improved, respondents called for more opportunities to work and experiment with alternative teaching strategies by applying them to specific content from secondary curriculum materials, such as textbooks, prior to their student teaching.

The curriculum of the field experience. The second and most significant structural variable influencing the development of teacher perspective was the field-experience portion of the teacher education program. During the interviews, the preservice teachers were asked to describe how one learns to teach. Field experiences dominated the respondents' descriptions.

> I think you learn to teach through hands-on experiences. When you get into the classroom, you just learn as you go. You can read a lot of books--I read a lot of books--and they give you a good background knowledge, but until you have a change to apply it, I don't think it really comes to life for you. (Interview ST/3)

> Field experiences are the most important because you are doing it. You learn directly from your mistakes. You see your mistakes much faster. At the university, I felt a lot of the issues were based upon opinion. Your answers were based on your opinion and it is easy to do that in a college class. Anybody can fake that, as long as you know how to articulate in a clear-cut fashion. You can write the greatest essay in the world and it may mean nothing, but, in the schools, it's a different story. There is nowhere to hide. If you goof-up, you goof-up. I think I learned faster and I realized my mistakes much quicker in the field. I really made a lot of mistakes in the classroom, based on opinions that weren't well-grounded. (Interview ST/2)

The apprenticeship of observation. Time spent observing teachers in elementary and secondary school played an important role in the formation of preservice teacher perspectives on teaching. This influence was particularly evident in the perspectives of freshman and sophomore respondents. As a result of their apprenticeship of observation, the teacher perspectives of students in the earliest stages of teacher education were more naive, simplistic, and unproblematic. During their years as pupils, respondents had constructed an image of the work of teachers based solely upon teachers' actions that were readily observable to pupils. Experiences gained in teacher education course work and through field experiences provided preservice teachers with a more realistic understanding of the nature and constraints of the teacher's job. This was illustrated by what respondents unexpectedly discovered during teacher education field experiences--that teaching is hard work. The following comment illustrates the change in perspective that occurred as a result of experiences in student teaching.

> I didn't expect the long hours a teacher really puts in. When I was doing my student teaching, I was writing lesson plans, grading papers, getting material ready to run off the next day, and preparing tests. I just really didn't realize all that was involved. At first, I thought some teachers just teach strictly by the textbook. I thought it was just a piece of cake for them. No preparation or anything. But, the ones that were real good teachers...I could tell now the amount of preparation they had done for class. I didn't realize that before. (Interview ST/5)

The active role of the individual in the development of teacher perspectives.

The data presented in this section illustrate the dialectical nature of the teacher socialization process. While the university and the schools determined the organization and nature of preservice experiences, interactional variables shaped these experiences in ways that made them unique to each individual. Data analysis identified the following interactive variables: (a) role-playing, (b) selective role-modeling, (c) impression management, and (d) self-evaluation.

Role-playing. The opportunity for role-playing in early field experiences, as well as student teaching, was found to be the most important of the interactional variables. In this study, role-playing situations were those activities preservice teacher assumed in classrooms that were considered to be "teacher activities." Role-playing in field experiences allowed preservice teachers a certain degree of autonomy and responsibility, placed them in situations where they were treated as professionals by others, and allowed them to demonstrate and evaluate their teaching abilities. These role-playing experiences allowed preservice teachers to participate in and master activities that, up to this point, preservice teachers had only observed inservice teachers doing. Through role-playing in field experiences, preservice teachers demonstrated their abilities to prove to themselves and to others that they had mastered, or were on their way to mastering, the skills and knowledge that are necessary

for successful teaching.

The respondents perceived teacher education course work as artificial and separated from the reality of the school classroom. Preparatory activities such as lesson planning, objective writing, test construction, and discussions of various schools of thought regarding subjects such as motivation of students and classroom management were viewed as teacher education activities, not professional activities. Mastery of teacher education course work did not provide a sense of mastery of the activities required of the professional teacher.

As illustrated in the interview excerpts below, many respondents believed that good grades in college course work were not an indication of an individual's ability to teach.

> I think field experiences are by far more important than course work. I think you learn more that you would out of a book. In a course you might learn the procedures, like how to set up a lesson plan, but there is no room for deviation in a book. When you are out there in the field, you have to react to what you see. (Interview FEEP/3)

> I would say it's through a combination of course work and field experiences [that you learn how to teach]. You really can't learn it until you have done it. So you have to have practice in the field. (Interview FEEP/5)

> It is easy to sit around and talk with a professor about the nature of the adolescent, but when one's sitting right there in front of you, it's a whole different story....It is a whole different perspective from the field. They don't give you little hints about what to look for. I mean, how you're going to see this kid's sliding down in his chair, you know. I guess they can't teach you how to notice little things about the kids while they're sitting there. I just learned everything from the field experience. [I learned everything] from the student teaching instead of the course work. (Interview ST/6)

> [In the course work] you're not experiencing it. The professor can sit there and give us a certain situation and we could tell him what we're going to do. I mean, I could tell him what I'd do, but once you get out there and there's just other things that come into play that you have to deal with...instantly. So it's [the course work] detached. [In the field] you can't just say,

> "Well, what should I do now?," and sit back and make up your mind--you have to do something right away...you have to. (Interview ST/4)

In short, the opportunity to "prove" one's self as a teacher in a real classroom situation is much more important to the preservice teacher than success in the university classroom as a student. One respondent put it this way: "the important question lurking in the back of my mind all through the program was, 'Would I really be able to survive in the classroom.'"

The segregation of theory and practice in teacher education is not a new problem (cf. Dewey, 1904/1964). The practical nature of the work of teaching is not easily replicated in the university classroom, therefore, opportunities to role-play provide the only way in which preservice teachers can confront the complexity of the teaching situation. Prospective teachers enter teacher education with certain theories regarding what actions will be most effective for them as teachers. These theories of action are the conceptual structures and visions that provide reasons for actions taken in a particular situation and are chosen to enhance effectiveness of those actions (Sanders & McCutcheon, 1984). While theories of action may be added to as a result of teacher education course work and other experiences, the major source of their development is through practical inquiry—comparing actual practices to a vision of what is believed to be effective and by experimenting with actions and weighing the consequences (Sanders & McCutcheon, 1984). Theories of action are developed, then, as a result of actions taken while in the teacher's role. Role-playing in field experiences provides the only outlet for practical inquiry into teaching, and, as a result is a highly valued experience for preservice teachers.

Selective role-modeling. Selective role-modeling is the second interactional variable that illustrates the active role of the individual in the construction of a teaching perspective. Much of the literature regarding the influence of role models on neophyte teachers, presents the preservice teacher, especially the student teacher, as indiscriminantly modeling the actions and beliefs of the cooperating teacher. The picture that emerged from this study's data is that preservice teachers use a selective role-modeling process, in which the preservice teacher draws specific attributes from many different role-models instead of globally modeling one individual.

Preservice teachers were highly selective in the way they modeled these individuals. They chose specific qualities from different individuals and attempted to blend them together into an ideal model, which they considered appropriate to themselves. This process of role-modeling did not produce the "cloning" effect described in early investigations of student teacher role-modeling. Based upon their own judgment, the respondents selected specific attributes from other people that they desired to incorporate into their own teaching perspective. The most frequently mentioned attributes or qualities respondents selected from their role-models were: mastery of content knowledge, fairness in dealing with pupils, trustworthiness, humor, concern regarding the holistic needs of pupils, outgoing/enthusiastic nature, use of teaching techniques that emphasized pupil participation, and clarity of instruction. The selective role-modeling process is described by several respondents below.

> I carry my past experiences with me, but at the same time I'm kind of picking and choosing...it's like I'm picking things that I think will fit in with me and I'm rejecting others. (Interview ST/3)

> Initially [in early field experiences] I mimicked the instructors who were in the schools...later on, I modeled their tone rather that specific actions. (Interview SSM/3)

> I didn't look at one person and make myself a carbon copy of them, but I think it is good to listen to other people's ideas. They might have a real good idea you never thought of or give you a new approach that you never thought of. (Interview ST/5)

Respondents not only had partial role-models, but also negative role-models. Negative role-models were those persons possessing characteristics or ways of doing things that respondents did not want to acquire. These were characteristics that they were actively seeking to avoid.

> To tell you the truth, some of the worst teachers I had were my history teachers in high school. I think the reason...was because they were coaches. They were the most boring teachers I ever had. Everything came straight from the book....It was just so dull. They just basically said, "Turn to chapter eight, read section one, answer the questions at the end." I don't want to be like that. (Interview ST/5)

> My high school government class was the most boring class that I every had....He [the teacher] was pretty boring. You went into class and he stood up there for 45 minutes and we took notes and had tests on Fridays and that was it. I'm not going to be like that. (Interview ST/4)

From the above examples, it is evident that respondents felt they were the architects of their ideal model. They selected from the various attributes they had had an opportunity to observe during their years as pupils and synthesized them into a model of what they would like to become.

Impression management. The third interactional variable identified in the data analysis was the process of impression management, or engaging in activities to please one's superiors, even when that activity was not part of the individual's belief system (Becker, et al., 1961; Goffman, 1959; Lacey, 1977). Many of the respondents described instances from field experiences, in which they exercised a form of impression management. In some cases, behavioral conformity was motivated either by the desire to

please persons with evaluative power (i.e., cooperating teacher or university supervisor) or by the belief that behavioral conformity was in the best interest of the pupils. In either case, the respondents harbored reservations about their actions and stated that they would not take them without the influence of situational constraints. The following are examples from preservice teachers in early field experiences and student teaching.

> I felt that if it was a class of mine, I might have handled it differently. But, it is hard to come in when the teacher already has a certain schedule and change it....It was really hard to get the kids motivated. They always had to sit in their seats and keep quiet, so it was impossible to do group work or anything constructive. If it had been my class, it would have been structured completely different. I would have kept trying [to motivate the kids]. I would have tried different things, until I got through to them. I thought it was ridiculous to give up....The teacher told me to forget it, he said it [trying to motivate the students] was a waste of time....I felt like I couldn't say anything to him, because it wasn't my classroom. I was just in FEEP....I felt like he was evaluating me. (Interview FEEP/3)

> I tried to follow the routine of the teacher. My lesson plan was a bit different actually, but I tried to keep the continuity [with what the cooperating teacher had done before]. I tried to use good judgment and do something that the cooperating teacher would have wanted....I tried to do what they wanted. I didn't want to rock any boats....I'm not one that never wants to rock the boat, but I think in that type of situation, you give in because you are taking someone else's class and it could be a real awkward situation, especially if you didn't get along with this person. (Interview PI/3)

> I was locked into it for weeks, and I guess the reason I felt that locked in is because I hated to go from one type of thing to another right off the bat. You know, make a straight cut. The kids are going to be confused; they won't know what's going on. I don't think I have had enough experience where I was allowed to use new techniques--to see how they affected kids. At Harding, I was very locked in to using the same techniques she [the cooperating teacher] was using and using the same materials she was. I really didn't experiment, because I had to keep pace with her classes....I was bored. I thought it was kind of a waste of time....I didn't want to work with those kids that way because it was failing with them. (Interview ST/4)

> I developed a lesson plan that I knew would pass....It had to deal with every second, because that was what this guy [university supervisor] wanted. So I did that, and then I got up in front of the class...I used the lesson plan as a point of reference, in that, first I should go over this point and then go over that part. I kind of winged it as to how I was going to handle it--what questions I should ask. (Interview SSM/4)

The use of a strategy such as impression management illustrates how an individual may manipulate a situation while still being constrained by it. Despite structural constraints during teacher education field experiences, the respondents were able to play an active role in the events that occurred.

Self-evaluation. The fourth and final action illustrative of the individual's active role in the development of teacher perspectives is the process of self-legitimation or self-evaluation. The data indicate that preservice teachers, when judging their own performance and competence as teachers, placed a great emphasis (but not all) on their self-evaluation. When asked about how one validates him or herself as a teacher--that is who they look to for cues about their performance--there were two patterns that emerged. First, some respondents relied on their judgment of what their pupils thought of their performance. These judgments were not based upon systematic written or verbal evaluations, but rather upon the "mood" or the "reaction of the students to the lesson." The second pattern was for the respondents to evaluate their classroom performance based upon their own sense of competency or their own self-perceptions. There were exceptions to these patterns that emphasized self-evaluation, particularly in cases where the respondents admired the abilities of their cooperating teacher, but these were in the minority of cases. Just as preservice teachers made judgments regarding positive and negative attributes of role models, they made judgments regarding their own attributes and actions. Respondents'

beliefs that the knowledge base of teaching is founded upon tacit or personalistic knowledge seem to have promoted the legitimacy of self-evaluation of classroom performance. The following comments are illustrative of the process of self-legitimation as evidenced in the interview data:

> I would say that your own self-evaluation is most important. You've got to wake up and look at yourself in the mirror and if you lie to yourself...then so be it. Hopefully you would realize it. I would think in teaching you are going to have some problems....But 12 years from now will you be able to look at yourself in the mirror and be so confident in what you have done that you can't have any critical self-analysis? Or be so blind to what you have done that you just can't see it yourself? The bottom line is my opinion. Somewhere I try to eliminate my mistakes. I guess in the classroom, you have to look for yourself. There is so much time when you wouldn't have anybody else [to evaluate your performance]. (Interview PI/2)

> My cooperating teacher's opinions were important, but my internal sense of what was going on was probably the most important. Because in spite of the fact that I thought I did a good job [during student teaching], I don't want to teach any more. I don't feel that I'm that great of a teacher, and I don't think that I would do that well. So I guess it is just more of an internal sense of what was going on. In spite of the fact that my cooperating teacher and the university supervisor said I did a good job, my own evaluation was more important. (ST/1)

> My evaluation of my teaching is the most important opinion....If I had not just stuck to that plan, but I allowed the students to interact, to participate and we got something unique going at the end--that's great! If the kids are really enjoying it and they're learning something from it. I'd say that's how I evaluate my teaching. (Interview ST/4)

Recommendations

Drawing policy implications from research such as this must be done tentatively. This study did not intend to examine the complete process of teacher socialization and perspective development. The study has examined one setting in which preservice teachers are engaged in particular roles. There are other more broad ranging sources of influence that play a part in the development of teacher perspectives that have not been addressed in

this research (i.e., the selection of teachers, economic factors, etc.). However, based upon the findings of this research, there are several recommendations that can be made.

First, the dialectical process of teacher perspective development illustrated in this research should be taken into account by reform-minded teacher educators when planning revisions of the present curriculum of teacher education. A better understanding of the dynamic of learning to teach, based upon the insights gained from preservice teachers, can assist reformers in the creation of a teacher education curriculum that is more meaningful to the prospective, as well as the practicing, teacher.

Second, a central problem of preservice teacher education, as it is presently organized, seems to be that its value depends upon the preservice teacher being properly prepared to learn from it. It has been illustrated in this study that preservice teachers are not passive recipients of knowledge, but that they are actively engaged in the construction of meanings. By acknowledging the active role of the individual in the process of learning to teach, preservice teacher education may be able to provide preservice teachers with ways in which they can become reflective practitioners, that is, more critical and analytical in their assessments of themselves and others.

Course work in teacher education should aim to make preservice teachers more aware of their own past experiences and preconceived beliefs about teaching in order to subject them to scrutiny. The goal would not be to disprove the relevancy of past experiences, but simply to expose individual beliefs to critical examination and discourage "personalized" versions of the teaching truth. Teacher educators should work to break down what Lortie (1975) described as the "intellectual segregation" between

scientific reasoning and pedagogical practice. Based upon the findings in this research, it seems that teacher education has failed to meet the ideal expressed by Dewey (1904/1964) that, "criticism should be directed to making the professional student thoughtful about his [sic] work in light of principles, rather than to induce in him [sic] a recognition that certain special methods are good and certain other special methods bad" (p. 335).

Third, the role and purpose of field experiences in teacher education also must be critically examined. Because of the importance of role-playing in the professional development of teachers, field experience-based learning is the most significant event in the preservice teacher's professional preparation. However, field experiences pose several difficulties for teacher educators. As illustrated in this research, field experiences promote a utilitarian perspective in preservice teachers. This utilitarian perspective is demonstrated in a "trial and error" approach to teaching. Sanders and McCutcheon (1984) point out that teachers rarely take actions that do not make sense to themselves, but that preservice teachers are faced with two significant limitations when performing in the field: "(1) they are not able to perceive and interpret the professionally significant features of the situation, and (2) they lack the knowledge that enables the practitioner to choose actions appropriate in these circumstances for the purpose of producing desired consequences" (pp. 4-5).

For many preservice teachers, the broader questions of the field raised in some teacher education courses, such as the nature of learning or the role of the school in society, are artificial and separated from the real world activities of the teacher and activities involving these broader questions are viewed as only important as part of meeting teacher education course work requirements. This divorce between the scholarship and method

of teaching should be addressed through close coordination of the field and course work components of teacher education. Dewey (1904/1964) noted that the twin problems of developing an intellectual method of applying subject-matter and mastering techniques of class instruction and management are not independent and isolated problems. Unfortunately, the present organization of the teacher education program encourages the separation of these problems into theory-oriented course work and management-oriented field experiences. Teacher educators should strive to link the goals of mastery of teaching techniques and provide a foundation for professional development.

Meeting this goal would require changes in the curriculum and learning experiences provided in preservice teacher education. While recent comprehensive plans for the reform of teacher education have addressed the integration of theory and practice (Joyce & Clift, 1984; Holmes Group, 1986), the following selected recommendations regarding the implementation theory and practice in teacher education are supported as a result of the findings of this research. First, teacher education should provide opportunities for the study and application of action research methods by preservice teachers. The action research cycle involves discourse (planning and reflection) and practice (observation and action) and provides a structure for integrating theoretical and practical inquiry into teaching. Recent literature on reflective or inquiry-oriented teacher education demonstrates attempts to combine the elements of action research with teacher education (Ross & Hannay, 1986; Tom, 1985). Second, organization of teacher education classes into cohort groups would provide a support network that respondents reported missing from their teacher education experience as well as a context within which to share analyses of

their own and others' practice. Fullan (1985) suggests that, "stimulating individual reflection in relation to action, and collective (two or more people) sharing of an analysis of this practice-based reflection is at the heart of reforms in teacher education" (p. 205). Lastly, a laboratory or clinical approach to teacher education would allow preservice teachers in methods and/or subject area courses to work closely with classroom teachers and university teacher educators in integrating the theory and practice of teaching. The goal of laboratory/clinical teacher education would not be to give working command of the necessary tools of teaching (i.e., techniques of instruction and management), but rather to provide opportunities for action and reflection (Dewey, 1904/1964).

These recommendations represent minimal issues for consideration in light of the conclusions of this study and future actions of teacher educators. What should no longer be ignored is the active role of the individual in mediating the curriculum of teaching. Excellence in the schools cannot be achieved without quality teachers and quality teachers must have a platform for professional growth. By recognizing this fact and providing preservice teachers with the initial tools for professional growth and the support network for continued growth, an important step can be taken towards the goal of excellence in the schools.

Endnotes

[1] For a more complete discussion of the rationale and methods used in the data collection and analysis, see Ross (1986).

[2] Ross (1986) provides a description and analysis of the elements of teacher perspectives held by the participants in the study.

[3] McCutcheon (1982) has defined curriculum as what students have the opportunity to learn. With this definition in mind, the curriculum of teaching is what preservice teacher have the opportunity to learn about teaching.

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